

SAC, Atlanta

September 2, 1964

Director, FBI (157-9-Main)

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS -

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Gray
1 - Mr. Trainor 1 - Mr. Ryan

Effective immediately, the Bureau is instituting a coordinated Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) directed against Klan-type and hate organizations. Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately open an active control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for this program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent who is well versed in investigation of hate and racist-type organizations and their membership.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various Klans and hate organizations, their leadership and adherents. The activities of these groups must be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these groups must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources, both locally and at the Seat of Government. We must frustrate any effort of the groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.

2 - Baltimore
2 - Birmingham
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago
2 - Jacksonville
2 - Jackson
2 - Knoxville
2 - Little Rock

MAILED 6
SEP 3 1964
COMM-FBI

2 - Memphis
2 - Miami
2 - Mobile
2 - New Orleans
2 - New York
2 - Richmond
2 - Savannah
2 - Tampa

1 - 100-3-104-Main (CPUSA, Cointelpro)

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 8/27/64, same caption,
DR:bzc.
DR:bge (42)

RECEIVED READING ROOM

SEP 4 57 PM '64

REC-157-9-1

18 SEP 4 1964

WCA
TO
438611424445
2

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

The following Klan organizations, currently under active investigation, should be considered for counterintelligence action:

1. Association of Arkansas Klans of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. Association of Georgia Klans.
3. Association of South Carolina Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
4. Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Hinton, West Virginia.
5. Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
6. Improved Order of the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
7. Independent Klavern, Fountain Inn.
8. Independent Klan Unit, St. Augustine, Florida.
9. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Aka.
10. Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
11. National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
12. Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
13. Pioneer Club, Orlando, Florida.
14. United Florida Ku Klux Klan.
15. United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
16. U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
17. White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

The following hate organizations currently being afforded active investigation are included in this program.

1. Alabama States Rights Party (Origin: Mobile)
2. American Nazi Party (Origin: Richmond)

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

3. Council for Statehood, aka, Freemen
(Origin: Miami)
4. Fighting American Nationalists
(Origin: Baltimore)
5. National States Rights Party
(Origin: Birmingham)
6. National Renaissance Party
(Origin: New York)
7. United Freemen (Origin: Miami)
8. Viking Youth of America (Origin: Tampa)
9. White Youth Corps (Origin: Chicago)

On or before 10/15/64, participating offices are instructed to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against pertinent organizations and individuals active within their respective territories and specific recommendations should be included for any logical immediate counterintelligence action. Recommendations submitted under this program must include all necessary facts to enable the Bureau to intelligently pass upon the feasibility of the proposed action. In instances where a reliable and cooperative news media representative or other source outside the Bureau is to be contacted or utilized in connection with a proposed counterintelligence operation, it will be incumbent upon the recommending office to furnish assurances the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence.

Offices participating in this program who have investigative responsibility for Klan organizations should specifically comment in the initial letter to the Bureau regarding "Action Groups." As these offices are aware, these groups have been described as the relatively few individuals in each organization who use strong-arm tactics and violent actions to achieve their ends. Often these groups act without the approval of the Klan organization

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

or membership. The Bureau considers it vital that we expose the identities and activities of such groups and where possible disrupt their efforts. These groups should be subjected to continuing counterintelligence action.

No counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authorization.

Commencing 1/1/65 and every 3 months thereafter, each participating office should submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior 3-month period, including comments under the following captions:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action
2. Pending Counterintelligence Action
3. Tangible Results

If necessary, a 4th caption "Miscellaneous" may be utilized for additional comments.

Recommendations for counterintelligence action should not be included in 90-day status letters to the Bureau but following the initial analysis due 10/15/64, should be submitted individually by separate letter.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of Klan-type and hate organizations and their membership should be alerted to our counterintelligence plans relating to these groups. Counterintelligence action directed at these groups is intended to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations. Each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation.

424449

438615

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

The Bureau is pleased with past successes achieved by our counterintelligence efforts in other phases of our investigative responsibilities. To insure our success in this new endeavor, the Agent to whom the program is assigned in each office must have a detailed knowledge of the activities of the racist groups in the territory and that knowledge must be coupled with interest, initiative and imagination. The Agent must be alert for information which has a disruptive potential. The information will not come to him - - he must look for it. The most effective way of being assured of keeping on top of the situation is to maintain close contact with those Agents who handle the investigation of the racial and hate groups and their membership and also to periodically review relevant files.

If an enthusiastic approach is made to this new endeavor, there is no reason why the results achieved under this program will not equal or surpass our achievements in similar-type programs directed against subversives.

424450
438616

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Class -
Belmont ✓
Mohr ✓
Casper ✓
Callahan ✓
Conrad ✓
Felt ✓
Gale ✓
Rosen ✓
Sullivan ✓
Tavel ✓
Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holmes ✓
Gandy ✓

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 27, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Gray
- 1 - Mr. Trainor
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

Memorandum from Mr. J. H. Gale to Mr. Tolson dated 7/30/64 captioned "Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and other Hate Groups" was approved by the Director authorizing the Domestic Intelligence Division to give consideration to the application of counterintelligence and disruptive tactics to hate groups and to thereafter make appropriate recommendations. It is our recommendation that we immediately initiate a hard-hitting, closely supervised, coordinated counterintelligence program to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and specified other hate groups. *u*

This new counterintelligence effort will take advantage of our experience with a variety of sophisticated techniques successfully applied against the Communist Party, USA, and related organizations since 1956. Primarily, we intend to expose to public scrutiny the devious maneuvers and duplicity of the hate groups; to frustrate any efforts or plans they may have to consolidate their forces; to discourage their recruitment of new or youthful adherents; and to disrupt or eliminate their efforts to circumvent or violate the law. Our counterintelligence efforts against hate groups will be closely supervised and coordinated to complement our expanded intelligence investigations directed at these organizations. *u*

We are furnishing general instructions to 17 field offices (14 Southern offices responsible for active investigation of 17 Klan groups and 6 hate organizations, and New York, Chicago and Baltimore, who have active investigative responsibilities for one hate organization each) relating to the administration and prompt enactment of this new counterintelligence program. Briefly, these instructions require the 17 participating offices to submit to the Bureau on or before 10/15/64 an analysis of possible counterintelligence operations, including any specific recommendations for action. Thereafter (commencing 1/1/65) the participating offices will submit a 90-day status letter setting

Enc. 2
157-9-Main
1 - 100-3-104-Main (CPUSA, Cointelpro)

REC 20

157-9-2

DR:bgc (8) CONTINUED - OVER

3/26/77 745172
7380
3/26/77 745172

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

forth a summary of current, possible, and successfully achieved counterintelligence activity during the prior 3-month period. Each office will be instructed to open and maintain a pending investigation relating to this program and to assign a Special Agent on a part-time basis as the program coordinator responsible for following and initiating counterintelligence action. U

As is the instance in our established counterintelligence program against the Communist Party, USA [REDACTED]

all recommended counterintelligence action against Klan-type and hate organizations will be required to be approved at the Seat of Government.

This new counterintelligence program directed at Klan and hate organizations will be supervised at the Seat of Government by the Special Agent supervisor responsible for our similar programs directed against the Communist Party, USA, [REDACTED]

His efforts will be closely coordinated with supervisory personnel responsible for the intelligence investigations of the Klans and hate organizations and their membership. An annual memorandum justifying continuance of the program will be submitted and the participating field offices will be periodically apprised of techniques which have been found to be most successful. At such time as the program is considered to be successfully under way, a status memorandum will be submitted which will include any additional recommendations relating to manpower or other administrative requirements.

RECOMMENDATIONS :

1. That the Domestic Intelligence Division be authorized to immediately initiate a coordinated counterintelligence program directed at exposing, disrupting and otherwise neutralizing the 17 active Klan organizations and 9 active racial hate organizations.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

2. That the attached letter be forwarded to the 17 field offices slated to participate in this new counterintelligence program setting forth instructions for the administration and immediate enactment of the program. 4

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: July 30, 1964

FROM : J. H. GALE

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION OF KU KLUX KLAN AND OTHER HATE GROUPS

Mr. Sullivan has proposed that the development of informants in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and other hate groups as well as the investigation and penetration of these organizations from an intelligence standpoint be transferred from the General Investigative Division to the Domestic Intelligence Division (DID). He bases his recommendations on the premise that organizations like the KKK and supporting groups are essentially subversive in that they hold principles and recommend courses of action that are inimical to the Constitution as are the viewpoints of the Communist Party. He does not maintain that the actions of the hate groups constitute the same menace as the Communist Party inasmuch as they are not controlled by a foreign power.

He feels that the DID over the years has developed wide experience in the penetration of subversive organizations through informants, anonymous sources, sophisticated microphone and technical surveillances, interview programs of a highly specialized nature, etc., and that his division could put this experience to excellent use in penetrating the Klan and other hate groups.

Mr. Sullivan feels that the DID would be in a position to launch a disruptive counter-intelligence program against the Klan and other hate groups with the same effectiveness that they are now doing insofar as the Communist Party is concerned. He also proposes an immediate series of regional conferences to instruct pertinent field personnel and to devise imaginative, aggressive and highly specialized programs to carry out the responsibilities in question. He states the Communist Party is increasing its activities in the field of racial matters and civil rights, directing more and more of its fire against the KKK and similar organizations to confuse the issue. He feels that because of the stepped up activities of the Communist Party in this area it would help prevent marked confusion from developing in the areas of activities being handled by the General Investigative and Domestic Intelligence Divisions if the DID assumes these responsibilities.

The functions in question were formerly handled by the DID up until 1958 when they were transferred to the General Investigative Division. This matter was considered by the Executives Conference 10/1/58 and the transfer recommended.

1 - Mr. Rosen 1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Belmont 1 - Mr. Mohr
JHG:wmj (7) Enclosures

REC 30

152-9-3

108

SEP 28

Memo for Mr. Tolson

Re: Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and Other Hate Groups

One of the prime factors in the decision to transfer these responsibilities from the DID in 1958 was the almost complete absence of Communist Party activity in the racial area although at that time the Communist Party sought to capitalize on such incidents after their occurrence.

Mr. Rosen was opposed to the transfer of the functions in question to the General Investigative Division in 1958 and his present position is consistent in that he maintains that the development of informants and the penetration of the Klan and other hate groups are primarily intelligence functions which should be handled by the DID as suggested by Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Rosen feels that the Bureau can best keep abreast of the whole field by having all angles of the racial field united in one division as suggested by Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Rosen points out that the development, supervision and administrative handling of racial and security informants are analogous.

Mr. Rosen feels that there is a tendency toward oversimplification in blaming all racial murders on Klansmen and hate groups. He points out that the murders of Medgar Evers, Postman Moore and even the assassination of President Kennedy were initially and generally attributed to Klan and hate group members whereas investigation showed that the individuals charged with the murders of Evers and Moore were without organization affiliation and the President was slain by an avowed Marxist who was active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Mr. Rosen and Mr. Sullivan both agree that the investigation of individual cases, i.e. bombings, murders, police brutality, etc., should be handled by the General Investigative Division. Mr. Rosen feels that whether subject or victims are Klan members, Communist Party members or completely without organizational affiliation has no more bearing on our supervision of the substantive civil rights violation than it would have if the violation involved were Theft from Interstate Shipment, Bank Robbery or White Slave Traffic Act.

Mr. Belmont disagrees with Messrs. Rosen and Sullivan and feels that while the proposed transfer of functions from the General Investigative to the Domestic Intelligence Division is theoretically appealing, it is not a practical answer to our problem. He states that at the time of the 1958 transfer of functions in question the basis was the close inter-relationship between the activities of the Klan and hate groups and the entire civil rights field of investigation. He feels this argument has even more strength today than in 1958, because, overwhelmingly, our interest in Klan and hate groups today is their relationship with integration and civil rights. Mr. Belmont believes the transfer of functions would create an undesirable division of authority and responsibility; that our best chance to break major civil rights cases such as bombings, murders, etc., is through information developed from the inside as a result of coverage established in the

Memo for Mr. Tolson

Re: Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and Other Hate Groups

community where the crime occurred; i.e. informants and sources in the Klan, hate group, subversive organizations, but also sources not connected with any group, who will report potential violence and individuals prone to violence. We are following the policy of aggressively seeking out persons addicted to violence even though they have not violated a Federal law as yet. He feels that the Division that is going to investigate these cases should forge the necessary tools to use for this purpose. Mr. Belmont does not feel that the transfer of this responsibility will be helpful to the Bureau from an investigative standpoint nor in meeting the heavy responsibilities we now have in this area.

VIEWS OF THE INSPECTION DIVISION:

Inspector feels there is certainly some merit and logic in Mr. Belmont's reasoning and it is felt instant issue is not one that is completely black or white.

Under the present setup there is coordination and daily exchange of information between Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions in that both Divisions insure that communications and other matters of information are brought to the attention of each other as they arise from matters for which each Division is primarily responsible. However, it seems the real issue today - just as in 1958, is where does the weight of the interest lie in the racial question. In 1958 it clearly lay in the General Investigative Division because, according to information available to the Bureau at that time, in practically no instances had racial incidents been caused or inspired by Communist Party elements although the Party naturally sought to capitalize on incidents after they occurred. Also, in 1953, it was felt that consolidation would streamline certain operations.

Today it seems clear from information developed by Domestic Intelligence Division that the Communist Party now has evidenced a definite interest in the racial problem, is becoming deeply enmeshed therein, and appears to be exploiting it to an ever-increasing extent. Although prosecution for civil rights and other criminal violations is still an ultimate objective, there is definite need for an intelligence type penetration of these racial and hate groups so as to keep abreast of and ahead of their plans and activities. This seems more properly the function of the Domestic Intelligence Division.

Analysis was made by Inspector relative to coverage of the Klan and other hate groups. The General Investigative Division has been putting a great deal of pressure on the field to increase informant coverage. They have recently instructed the field to conduct surveys relative to instituting technical coverage on certain key Klan figures, have interviewed at least once all known Klan members, all Klan leaders have been investigated from intelligence standpoint and recommendations have been made that intelligence type cases be opened on each Klan member. A weekly progress airtel is being obtained from field concerning informant development. However, undoubtedly additional coverage is needed particularly in the Klaverns that have been formed since the civil rights bill passed. There is no question about

Memo for Mr. Tolson

Re: Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and Other Hate Groups

the fact that the DID has had broad experience in the penetration of subversive organizations and has achieved noteworthy results in infiltrating the Communist Party and Soviet intelligence operations. It is felt that unquestionably this experience and know-how could be put to good advantage in penetrating the Klan and other hate groups.

The Inspection Division feels that the advantages in having the direction of all informant and intelligence matters in the racial field in one division as outlined by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Rosen outweigh the advantages of having the hate group informants and intelligence functions with the substantive civil rights cases. Under the proposed transfer of phases of the racial problem to Domestic Intelligence Division there will still be definite responsibility in both divisions, Mr. Rosen to retain responsibility for supervision of substantive civil rights violations and other criminal violations. This dual responsibility, however, should pose no problem because there are numerous examples of it successfully being handled in the Bureau today. In this regard it will be noted that the administrative handling of the entire criminal informant program is handled by the Special Investigative Division which includes the informants being utilized on General Investigative Division cases. It will also be noted that the Special Investigative Division handles the informant and intelligence aspects of organized crime. However, the General Investigative Division handles key substantive violations such as Bankruptcy, Extortion, Assaulting a Federal Officer, and Theft from Interstate Shipment violations committed by members of the organized criminal syndicate utilizing Criminal Intelligence informants. It is understood that there have been no insoluble problems in this regard and it is felt that there should be no insoluble problems in the coordination of racial intelligence and informant information between the General Investigative Division and the DID.

In any event there will certainly be no lessening of pressure and supervision on the field if these functions are transferred. The same Agents in the field will be working the cases and developing the informants. However, it is felt that the DID should be given a chance to demonstrate whether their broad knowledge of and experience in penetration techniques and infiltration tactics can possibly increase our penetration of these hate groups. It is felt that a study of counter-intelligence and disruption tactics against the Klan certainly merits further consideration. It is also felt that the proposed series of field conferences on this problem should be favorably considered.

Memo for Mr. Tolson

Re: Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and Other Hate Groups

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the responsibility for development of informants and gathering of intelligence on the KKK and other hate groups be transferred from the General Investigative Division to the DID. (If approved, appropriate memorandum will be submitted by Inspection Division concerning realignment and distribution of personnel from the General Investigative Division to the DID.)

WLB

me

11

2. That a series of regional field conferences be held by appropriate Bureau official to instruct personnel and attempt to develop further imaginative and aggressive highly specialized programs to carry out desired penetration. (If approved, to be coordinated by Mr. Belmont.)

WLB

me

12

3. That counter-intelligence and disruption tactics be given further study by DID and appropriate recommendations made.

WLB

me

13

14